

PEACE NEWS

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U.S. told MILITARISM IS THE GREATEST EVIL TODAY

New peace drive by American Quakers

PHILADELPHIA, PA. USA.

AS a cable from Leningrad announced the arrival of six Quakers on a goodwill visit, the American Friends Service Committee released yesterday (Thursday) a message to the American people challenging as "unsound" what it called "the premise that totalitarian Communism is the greatest evil that threatens men today."

The greatest evil, said the Quaker organisation in a book-length study entitled "Speak Truth to Power," is the military code which holds that man is an instrument of the state. Communism applies this code to all of life, the publication declares, but the West itself is not free of it.

"No reputable historian has ventured the idea that either the first or second World War was spawned by Communism," the Quaker study said. "Nor are the Russians responsible for the concept of blitzkrieg, obliteration bombing or first use of atomic weapons. These have all been loosed upon the world by the very nations which now profess outrage at the cynical Soviet concept of the role of violence."

From his home near Pendle Hill, Quaker graduate centre outside of Philadelphia, the executive secretary of the AFSC, Lewis Hoskins, described the goodwill visit to Russia as just the latest gesture of Friends toward the Russians. "American Quakers sent six workers to Russia in 1917 to assist in a medical aid programme begun by British Friends the previous year," Hoskins said. "In 1920, our relief workers went to the Russian province of Samara, hard hit by famine and typhus."

Why delegation went

Although the last worker left the Quaker centre in Moscow in 1931, the AFSC sent a small shipment of streptomycin, bought with Nobel prize money to Russia in 1951. American Quakers have talked with Russian Baptists at meetings in Sweden for the last two summers and AFSC workers have frequent contact with Russian officials at Quaker Centres in Paris, Geneva, Vienna, and at the United Nations in New York.

The trip to Russia and today's statement to the American people, Hoskins pointed out, represent modern equivalents of a 300-year-old Quaker tradition of expressing religious concerns to men in positions of responsibility—a tradition that in the 17th Century sent an English housemaid to call on the Sultan of Turkey.

"Even a totalitarian state cannot ignore public opinion," Hoskins said. "In a democracy, governmental policy must express the popular will. That is why we have published 'Speak Truth to Power.' But our duty is not over when governments, responding to public opinion, make peaceful moves. Such moves must be backed up by person-to-person attempts to build understanding and friendship. That is why we have sent a delegation of six Friends to Russia."

Work on the study, which condemns use of atomic weapons, began over a year ago. Among the 13 members of the group which produced the study are three members of the delegation which landed in Russia today: Clarence Pickett, executive secretary emeritus of the AFSC; Stephen G. Cary, head of AFSC work in the United States, and William B. Edgerton, assistant professor of Russian at Pennsylvania State University.

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Peace march through London to-morrow

EVERY reader of Peace News is invited to join in a Peace march through the West End of London, tomorrow (Saturday), assembling at 1.45 p.m. in Endsleigh Street, near Euston Station.

The march will be to Trafalgar Square for the meeting announced on page five, organised by all the British pacifist organisations and the Peace Committee of the Society of Friends (Quakers).

Your Peace News and the strike

As a result of the rail strike there is some uncertainty as to when readers will receive this issue. Some emergency deliveries are being made in an attempt to overcome transport difficulties.

INCREASED MAJORITIES FOR LABOUR'S OUTSPOKEN ANTI-WAR MPs

TWO OF THE MOST OUTSPOKEN PACIFIST MEMBERS OF THE LAST PARLIAMENT, EMRYS HUGHES AND VICTOR YATES, ARE AMONG THE FEW LABOUR MPS RETURNED WITH INCREASED MAJORITIES IN THE GENERAL ELECTION.

Both had had the Labour Party Whip withdrawn last year when they voted against German rearmament.

Emrys Hughes was also one of the few Labour MPs returned with an increased majority at the 1951 General Election.

A new Peace M P

Frank Allaun, Peace News contributor and member of the Labour Peace Fellowship enters Parliament for the first time. He represents Salford East.



EMRYS HUGHES

A serious loss to the pacifist representation is the defeat suffered by James Hudson, Quaker Labour MP for Ealing North. In 1951 he held the seat, in a straight fight between Labour and Tory, by 120 votes. This year there was a Liberal candidate and the Conservative secured a majority of 246.

More vote Independent

By comparison with the 252 votes secured by the last Independent Pacifist to contest a seat in a General Election—Frank Hancock, who contested Ernest Bevin's seat in East Woolwich—the pacifist independents polled well last week.

John Loverseed, with a hurriedly-built-up organisation in South Lewisham polled 1,400 votes; Eric Fenner (Battersea North) 622.

(Who's Who in the New Parliament—page six)

Picture left shows (left to right) Victor Yates, H. W. Franklin, and George Craddock at last year's Labour Party Conference.

PATRIARCH OF MOSCOW COMING TO BRITAIN

Guest of Archbishop of Canterbury

THE Patriarch of Moscow is to stay in London as the guest of the Archbishop of Canterbury.

This was announced in the following press statement released by Christian Action on Tuesday, and which reads:

The British Council of Churches has now received a letter from Alexei, Patriarch of Moscow and All Russia, accepting on behalf of the Orthodox Church and other Christian Communities of Russia the invitation given in February by the Council for a representative group of Russian churchmen to visit Britain.

The members of the delegation are expected to arrive on Monday, July 4, and will proceed to Scotland for the succeeding four days. From July 9 to 16 they will be the guests of the President of the British Council of Churches, the Archbishop of Canterbury, at Lambeth Palace.

The Patriarch in his reply says:

"We have received the friendly letter of the British Council of Churches of February 18 conveying a brotherly invitation to the leaders of the Russian Orthodox Church and of some other Churches and religious associations of our country to visit England and Scotland in July of this year as a joint delegation."

"The kind invitation of the British Council of Churches was at once discussed by us in a session of the Holy Synod and immediately conveyed to the leaders of the other Churches and religious associations to which it referred."

"And now we hasten to inform the British Council of Churches in the name of our own Church, and of the other Churches and religious associations mentioned in your letter, that we all duly appreciate the brotherly friendship in the Lord shown us by the Churches and religious associations of England and Scotland, that we gladly accept the invitation of the British Council of Churches, and are preparing in love to make use of the opportunity of a further strengthening of the friendship between Christians of our two countries and of achieving greater mutual understanding among us."

Soldiers burn peace banner BUT MANY HEAR ARMED FORCES DAY CRITICS

From Charles Walker

PHILADELPHIA, USA

THE Armed Forces Day slogan "Power For Peace" was challenged in a Philadelphia demonstration on May 21, initiated by the Fellowship of Reconciliation.

Beginning in 1950, the Pentagon has conducted a huge publicity drive centred around Armed Forces Week, culminating in a parade on Saturday. Films, speakers, advertisements, displays, dinners, parades and celebrations—all are part of the hoopla, at taxpayers' expense.

The slogan "Power For Peace" has seemed so apt for the military that it has been used for three consecutive years. "Power Against Peace" might be more appropriate.

A Counter Committee on Armed Forces Day was initiated by the FoR in Philadelphia, under the chairmanship of Carl Dahlgren, Executive Committee member and Administrative Assistant for the Central Committee For Conscientious Objectors. A letter to ministers was sent out, appealing to them to emphasize another kind of power for peace, spiritual power. Attempts were made to parallel, from an anti-war position, some of the publicity efforts of the military. A debate held that week, and given publicity by the Committee, featured Rev. Walter White, Chaplain of the Chapel of the Four Chaplains, and this correspondent in the capacity of Middle Atlantic Regional Secretary of the FoR, on the theme "Can One Be Religious And Believe In War?"

On Friday night, a street meeting was held in the vicinity of the display of weapons at City Hall Plaza. On Saturday morning, a poster walk was held on City Hall Plaza, and leaflets passed out to shoppers and mid-city workers. In the afternoon, 2,000 leaflets were distributed to people along the parade route, as they waited for the parade to start. Three thousand leaflets were distributed in the three projects.

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BEHIND THE VOTE AT GRAVESEND

By TOM WARDLE

P. M. Kirk (C.) 22,058
V. Mishcon (Soc.) 19,149
Sir Richard Acland (Ind. Soc.) 6,514

YOU got the explanation for the Gravesend decision from the Labour Party loudspeaker van which went round the district on polling day.

"Don't split the vote," it appealed, somewhat aggressively I thought, "don't let the Tories in."

This did the trick. For forty years working men and women have been closing their ranks every election time so as not to "let the Tories in." Fear of depression, the dole, the "bad old days" has been enough to overcome minor differences, even sometimes serious differences, and keep the Party solid. So basic was this sense of discipline to a struggling working-class party, so much a part of the reflexes of every socialist did it become, that today, when the Labour Party has abandoned its traditional role to become a party of reaction, it is impossible for many to break away from their old loyalties.

The discipline, the "solid front," which was once the strength and pride of the Party is now a noose around its neck, a pillow on its face smothering out the life it still has left.

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Sir Richard Acland resigned from the Labour Party because there was no longer any room for him to express his moral repugnance to the Hydrogen Bomb within the Party. To do so would have been to court expulsion. Yet he remains a socialist and would have been likely to vote with the Labour Party on most issues. He was also the well-liked representative of Gravesend. For the Labour Party, therefore, to enter a candidate against him was clear evidence of the authoritarianism which has Transport House in its grip. The Labour Party knew that to do so was to cut the anti-Tory vote. But it was the Labour candidate that did it, not Acland. Acland's opposition represented such a threat to the power of the Labour leaders that it had to be crushed! Even if the cost was a Tory victory. Transport House thus demonstrated its preference for an H-bomb-supporting Conservative over an H-bomb-hating socialist. It was presumably because no ex-colleague of Dick Acland's in the House of Commons was prepared to stand against him that a new man was brought in.

The campaign had its effects on the Gravesend Labour Party. Some members resigned to give their backing to Acland. One lady who was "forty years in the Labour Party" was not in the Party's committee's rooms this election for the first time—she was working for Acland instead. Helpers came by the dozen and some from other parts of the country. There were people from Scotland even, and Cornwall.

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Perhaps one of the most significant aspects of the Acland appeal was provided by the story of a Labour Party canvasser who knocked at a house displaying an Acland poster. "Now," said the Labour man in a disapproving tone to the answering housewife, "you know you're only splitting the vote by backing this fellow Acland, don't you?" "Splitting the vote nothing," said the lady, "I usually vote Conservative!"

And what now? What of all the people who worked and the 6,514 who voted, and the other thousands who hoped? Are they to accept that British politics is only for the big battalions? The answer was suggested by a man with whom I talked in a Gravesend parlour. "There's a lot of people going unrepresented in this election," he said. "The Gallup Polls showed that. Maybe some day they'll have a party of their own. Then we'll show 'em."

Common Wealth against H-bombs

PEACE NEWS REPORTER

AT its Annual Conference which took place two days after the General Election, Common Wealth, the political party with which Sir Richard Acland was at one time associated, declared that Britain should renounce the manufacture of the hydrogen bomb and the atom bomb.

In a statement issued after the Conference it was declared that Britain should stand with the uncommitted nations in the power struggle between the two blocs for world dominance, and that it should devote the resources that would be released by such a policy primarily to helping the needy nations whose independence is newly-won or still to be achieved (whether from Western or Communist imperialism) in the development of their own social values and the improvement of their living standards.

In addition to calling for the renunciation of nuclear weapons the Conference declared that this country should not make preparation for bacteriological warfare or any other means to genocide.

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In all perplexity there is a portion of fear, which predisposes the mind to anger.
—COLERIDGE

THE MACHINE

THE Gravesend election points very clearly to what has been the over-riding characteristic of the General Election: the power of the machine.

It has been evident that those who are politically active in the localities are today very much less concerned with any ideas their parties may exist to express than with the maintenance of the party machine. Free expression of political ideas has come to be regarded as an embarrassment to be avoided: there is the danger that it may disrupt the machine.

Gallup polls have indicated clearly that it was not on the issue of policy that Sir Richard Acland was beaten; while the representative of Peace News who sampled reactions in the constituency found it very evident that it was not an expression of a preference for the accommodating gentleman placed in the constituency by the Labour Party machine that put Sir Richard Acland at the bottom. It was the ascendancy over men's minds of the conception of loyalty to a piece of political mechanism.

We pointed out during the election that there were no differences except on relatively trivial issues in the policies of the parties. In most cases therefore the only alternative was a choice between machines. It is in the few instances where a choice was offered, and outstandingly at Gravesend, that the real power of the machine and the insignificant account taken of differing political principle was made manifest.

The power of the machine operates, however, not only over the minds of the average party supporter; it also has a striking power over the minds of those who have definite convictions, such as pacifists. This election has demonstrated how deeply this power penetrates and the irrationality it can produce in the minds of normally rational people.

We understand, although we do not agree with, the attitude of the pacifist who is ready to put the interests of his political party before his pacifism. He regards pacifism as one aspect of his outlook on affairs and is ready to weigh his concern about other things against his pacifism and count them heavier in the scale. We hold that this attitude displays a badly distorted sense of proportion—indeed, tragically distorted in the face of manufacture of atom and hydrogen bombs—but we know and understand the pull of party loyalty and we can comprehend the mind that takes this view.

There is an attitude however that we should find incredible if we had not been able to observe its manifestations and if it were not borne out by facts we have before us on our desk. We have a postcard from "A Supporter of PN since 1939" which says:

"Please remember Peace News is, or was, a pacifist newspaper. Your reckless support of anyone who glibly states his opposition to H-bombs only, whilst advocating merry hell by other weapons makes one wonder."

Now we know that there are those who think and act as pacifists who have considerable doubts as to the desirability of giving support to men like Acland who disavow pacifism but declare their intention to offer an unqualified opposition to H-bombs and A-bombs; and we have taken it that these hold that the pacifist should make no concessions to the exigencies of politics. We think that they miss the great significance of an action like Acland's but it is clear that this is a matter upon which there can be genuine disagreement.

The comment we quote above, however, does not come from one of these. It comes from one who has rejected the opportunity of voting for a man who has declared that if elected he would vote against the manufacture of the H-bomb in favour—not of one who says that he will abstain from voting in such a case because that is as far as the discipline of his Party will permit him to go—but in favour of a candidate who accepts the full militaristic policy endorsed by official circles in both parties.

Our correspondent's vote has been cast, that is to say, in favour of a candidate who will support the manufacture of the H-bomb and the A-bomb, military conscription, the British alignment with NATO and the European "Defence" arrangements, the acceptance of the American bomber bases in this country and who, when the vote for armaments comes up, will cast his vote "for" as the Party desires.

What we have said above, however, is an understatement. Our correspondent has been willing to support, by presiding at his meetings, the candidate who is "advocating merry hell" by all weapons, including H-bombs and A-bombs against a man who says he draws the line at the latter.

Here we get an indication of the extent of self-delusion that can be brought about by the operation of the machine and its influence on men's minds when it appeals to the need for unity and the sacrifice of principle to party loyalty. Our correspondent is of course not alone in his attitude, which is representative of the views of more than we could have imagined. It is just that he has been less discreet than others and has thus singled himself out.

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Of books and elections . . .

RIGHT here in the Fellowship of Reconciliation office in New York I got what reporters over here call a "scoop." It is the news that Fellowship editor Alfred Hassler's book, based on his experiences and keen observations as a CO in a US Federal prison during World War II, and entitled "Diary of a Self-Made Convict", will be published in England on July 4.

This will ensure that Independence Day is at least in part appropriately observed. It will not surprise English readers that Victor Gollancz will be the publisher. I was almost on the point of writing "of this translation". Fact is that Hassler's book is being translated into Japanese, and will before long appear over there.

There may be US or Canadian readers who haven't yet obtained their copies of Hassler's book. They are still to be had at the FoR office here!

Having begun by mentioning a book, I may as well write briefly about another, to which I am in any case bound to refer before long.

It is Murray Kempton's "Part of Our Time". Himself briefly a member of the Young Communist League in the 'thirties, and for a longer period of the Young People's Socialist League, Kempton writes about "some ruins and monuments" of that period.

Its central purpose is to describe and evaluate the influence of the C.P. and its affiliates and fronts. He does it mainly

through penetrating, often brilliant and occasionally sarcastic sketches of individuals, including some who in the main escaped Communist influence. Among the figures dealt with are Alger Hiss, Whittaker Chambers, Paul Robeson, Elizabeth Bentley, the Reuther brothers, Joseph Curran of the Longshoremen; J. B. Matthews, who was once Executive Secretary of the FoR here, and from being, on his own testimony, the champion joiner of United Fronts went on to become a Communist baiter; the writers of the "proletarian" novels; and the Hollywood contingent of Party members and fellow travellers.

To avoid misunderstanding as to the quality and spirit of Kempton's book, I should emphasise that he writes with humility and pity. One may not always agree with him, though I almost always do with intense enthusiasm; but his integrity and moral passion cannot be questioned. His book is extremely important and useful for all who want to understand the US of the 'fifties as well as of the 'thirties.

To turn to other matters for a moment, I have been impressed by the fact that practically every report from England about the Election, which is three days ahead as this is written, emphasizes the apathetic attitude of the electorate.

I understand the Manchester Guardian has called the campaign "demure". Someone else

Stalemate

THE two main factors that govern world politics today are the existence of nuclear weapons and the awakening and self-assertion of the peoples of the world that have hitherto been largely disregarded by the "Powers."

Following the explosion of the uranium bomb in March of last year and the development of H-bomb manufacture by the Russian Government as well as in the USA, there was the beginning of a change in the way the powers were facing each other. Both the groups of powers, with the troubled and vacillating exception of the USA, rapidly moved to a realisation that the problems that were dividing them were incapable of solution by war without jeopardising not only their own welfare but their very existence.

There was therefore a perceptible move towards the acceptance of stalemate in the cold war struggle. It was this stalemate that was registered at Geneva with the USA holding aloof but tacitly accepting what was done. The registering of stalemate was evidently called for further North in the Pacific also, but here America's troublesome satellite, the Chiang Kai-shek regime, and its supporters in America, made this immediately impossible.

Bandung

THEN came the conference of the Governments of the peoples that are not "great powers". Not disarmed, but possessing arms derisory in character by "great power" standards, without nuclear weapons, with no research stations for bacteriological warfare, with absurdly trivial navies and air forces, the governments of the poor and needy peoples of the world came together at Bandung in Indonesia. Their meeting, following the "stalemate" position that had been created, promises to change the face of the world. For what Bandung has demonstrated is the power of the uncommitted peoples in a world in which the "committed" powers are equipped with H-bombs.

These people are all vulnerable in an H-bomb war. They are of course no more vulnerable than the peoples whose governments are equipped with nuclear weapons, but they are happily devoid of the temptation to try to settle problems by the brandishing of these things. The consequence is that they are no longer likely to be bargained into the military orbits of either of the power-blocs. Their whole tendency is to emphasise their non-commitment and as they pull away they are finding that there is a disposition to court them. We are reaching a point in human history where it would seem that the meek may inherit the earth.

Formosa

THE struggle between the East and the West is therefore taking a new form. There is competition between the two blocs to demonstrate to the uncommitted peoples that these latter have less to fear from the Communist bloc than from their Western opponents—or vice versa. We have stated it this way, however, because in this new form of struggle it must be said that the Communist powers have the initiative and are at present making all the running.

The first manifestation was Chou En-lai's intimation at Bandung that the Chinese Government was ready to meet the US Government to discuss the question of a peaceful solution to the Formosa problem. What has followed has been curious. There was the normal cumudgeonly reflex action on the

part of the US State Department followed by the Chinese reassertion of their right to "liberate" Formosa. This maladroit opening was, however, put right by President Eisenhower's subsequent statement and his intimation that the Chiang Government would not be able to exercise a veto over such talks. Weeks have passed since, but the talking stage has not yet been reached. Chou En-lai has reiterated the Chinese Government's readiness to meet the US Government and we learn that Krishna Menon has been busy making soundings about the terms upon which the two Governments might come together.

All the "crisis" psychology has departed from the Formosa problem, however. No longer are the Republican wild men or the "top brass" fulminating about the need to use nuclear weapons against the Chinese mainland, or if they are doing so the Press is not finding it necessary to take any notice of it or to provide encouragement for Chiang. We no longer live with the suggestion that we are on the edge of World War III to be set off by Formosa. The nuclear-weaponless powers have let their views be known.

Russia and Tito

FROM the Russian side these manifestations are following thick and fast. There was the sudden change in attitude to the question of Austria and the rapid negotiation of the treaty that gives Austria her independence and establishes her neutrality.

This has been followed by the striking change in the attitude to Yugoslavia. Tito was invited to go to Russia and refused, so the representatives of Russia came to him. The Russian spokesmen have expressed their regret at their former deplorable attitude to Yugoslavia (followed slavishly by every Communist Party throughout the world, it should be remembered) and have attributed responsibility to Beria and others now dead, characterising these in very much the same terms that were formerly applied to Tito.

The full significance of this change of face can only be appreciated when it is remembered that many of the present regimes in Communist Europe came into existence as a result of purges and oustings of former officials on the grounds of "Titoist deviationism". If it is now true that the Soviet Government erred in attacking Tito, then the Soviet Government erred also in liquidating and imprisoning those Eastern Europeans who took the "Tito line".

The honest and logical consequences of Krushchev's confession should be an immediate release of those imprisoned on these grounds and a declaration of penitence for those executed. Whether this will come is a matter of doubt, although something like it is happening in Poland, but there is no doubt that the Soviet Government feels greatly moved to secure peace by the extent of the damage to her prestige which she is apparently prepared to risk.

A change in Communism?

PEOPLE have been asking for some time whether there is any likelihood of a change in the character of international Communism. That feature of it to which freedom-loving people

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are most opposed is its predatory aspect, the neo-imperialism which swallowed the Baltic States and engineered the Communist coups in Eastern Europe. If the Soviet Union could be induced to abandon its empire, then one might conclude that the existing character of Soviet Communism had changed. To preserve its present nature, the Soviet Union requires expansion of the Communist world. Even to stand still is not enough. If circumstances therefore compel the Soviet Union to withdraw her politico/military influence within her own borders, this would be the beginning of the end of Communist imperialism. The condition of this withdrawal however, is the equal retraction of US neo-imperialism. This would have the same internal effect upon the US. It would necessitate far-reaching economic and political readjustments.

Circumstances must indeed be pressing then if the Soviet Union is advocating a "neutral zone" solution for Europe and courting the Yugoslavs and the Austrians as she is. She must realise that the immediate response of the West will be to ask for the neutrality of certain states within the Communist sphere of influence in return for the neutralisation of West Germany and perhaps other countries. There are some signs that the West is not unsympathetic to the idea of a neutral zone. Clearly no other solution so far proposed by either side has offered any hope.

Out of the strong it seems there may yet come forth sweetness. It is to be hoped that progressive forces in Europe will make the most of the new situation and help to create a new Europe that will have nothing further to do with the politics of power and the inhumanity of war.

The Railway Strike

MASS strikes are now the order of the day in Britain. They frequently take place in nationalised or public enterprises. This is true of the present railway strike. It presents a number of contrasts with pre-war strikes:

It is a strike, not against capitalist employers, but against a socialised industry which the workers themselves helped to bring into being.

It is thus society as a whole that is being held to ransom. Those who suffer most will be the fellow-workers of the railwaymen who cannot afford cars or planes or other forms of expensive transport.

One of the subjects of the strike is the question of "differentials"—discrimination in pay on the basis of skill. This is an issue which may be justified, but is essentially an inter-union issue and not one which may properly be made the argument for a nation-wide stoppage.

"The country will break before we break" is the arrogant taunt flung out by a union official. The kind of spirit conveyed by that remark and the general attitude of the union leaders is deeply inconsistent with the spirit of the early socialists who brought the trade union movement into being.

If wage increases are to be made possible in a national industry which is losing money, those increases must come from another source. This means either increased taxation (which a Conservative government would almost certainly pass on to the little man) or a reduction in arms expenditure. As most of the railwaymen involved would probably not welcome the first method of raising the money, how many of them have faced up to the second?

It symbolizes, and are in spiritual distress in a culture that is materially advanced but tends to confine and starve the spirit.

They are apathetic in such election campaigns as we have here and Britain is having now, because the real issues of war and foreign policy are really not discussed. There is no decisive difference in the way in which various parties and leaders propose to deal with them, and this holds true also of those who are labelled radical. Why, in these circumstances should the voters be intellectually or emotionally stirred?

I had an illustration of the problem on a small scale the other Sunday when I spent an afternoon with a group of U.S. Socialist Party members and adherents. The S.P. here has all but disappeared. Roosevelt and the New Deal, as the saying goes, stole the S.P.'s immediate demands and enacted them into law. Now we have the "Welfare State".

Is there, then, in reality no place left for Socialist or any such form of radicalism in the US?

In nearly four hours of discussion this group spent a hurried twenty minutes on US foreign policy, and the subject of war and the H-bomb was not even mentioned. Is it any wonder that virtually no one pays any attention? But this is a subject which deserves more extensive comment another time.

Letter from U.S.A. by A. J. Muste

remarks that Tories, Socialists and Liberals are at least going through the motions of fighting hard against each other, but they are all agreed on one thing—"a frustrated, puzzled and agonized effort to get the electorate to show some interest".

This is at a time in history which witnesses almost daily developments of the utmost importance: the big change in the atmosphere surrounding the Formosan question, the election to the presidency of Italy of M. Gronchi, who wants to see the fellow travelling Nenni Socialists drawn into the government, the rapid moves toward forming a buffer bloc of States in Central Europe, the preparations for a Big Four conference "at the summit", the frequent reports of big strides in production of new types of weapons in both Russia and the US and to some extent elsewhere with the result that the "agonizing re-appraisal" which Dulles periodically talks about may be taking place in all the foreign offices, but certainly is taking place in the Kremlin and the Pentagon.

I think there is no question that a lot of human beings are almost wholly occupied a lot of the time with eating and drinking and "having fun" in various ways, and that, as has often been remarked, thinking is a painful labour for them. But I am also convinced that a lot of ordinary human beings these days are troubled by the H-bomb and what

World Conference of Scientists planned

THE World Association of Parliamentarians for World Government are to hold a World Conference of Scientists in the Council Chamber of County Hall, London, on August 3, 4 and 5.

The purpose of this gathering is to discuss the nature and extent of the danger to mankind involved in experiments with nuclear weapons, and their possible use in warfare.

Lord Boyd Orr, Clement Davies and Bertrand Russell will be amongst those present.

First ventures in democracy

THE COMING ELECTIONS IN INDONESIA

From Dr. Homer Jack

Dr. Homer Jack, of Evanston, Chicago, who is on a five-month tour of Asia has already reported the Asian-African Conference for Peace News. While in Bandung he had a short interview with the Chinese Foreign Minister Chou En-lai. He is now in Malaya.

INDONESIA is one of the most maligned countries in South-East Asia—and one of the most thrilling.

Those who had the privilege of attending the Asian-African Conference in Bandung were warned by "old Asian hands" that they were going to a primitive country which was corrupt and going Communist. Instead one found a country barely a decade old going through the birth-pangs of nationalism.

True, there is hardly a traffic light in the capital city of Djakarta (formerly Batavia) with almost three million population. True, the red-tape is terrific. But Indonesia, sixth largest country in the world now, has its independence from the Dutch. And the Indonesians value their freedom (merdeka) more than perhaps even a slightly higher per capita income under Dutch rule.

In its new freedom, Indonesia faces multiple problems, for merdeka has not brought an end to this land's troubles. Indeed, the revolution ground to a halt after four years of agonizing fighting and negotiation with the ungenerous Dutch.

Indonesia has since been in a difficult period of consolidation with the provisional parliament and the provisional Constitution giving no one party a clear majority. Credit goes to President Sukarno and to the leaders of most of the political parties for not trying to turn the land into a dictatorship (although the Communists did attempt an abortive revolution in 1948).

Election prospects

Though some progress has been made on Indonesia's urgent economic and social problems, no comprehensive economic plan has yet been adopted. Further progress will undoubtedly be made once a new government is formed from the mandate of the people. The much-postponed national elections will be held in the autumn. A great number of parties are in the field, especially the PNI (Nationalists), Masjumi (modern Islamists), PSI (Socialists), and PKI (Communists).

The nationalists, now in power, naturally anticipate staying in power, but admit that they will win less than a majority of the seats in Parliament. Prime Minister Ali Sastroamidjojo, their leader, has won many plaudits in engineering the Asian-African Conference, but he has not acted decisively on domestic issues. The Masjumi may well help form the new government unless something startling happens between now and the elections. Indonesia is preponderantly an Islamic country and the Masjumi is controlled by modernist Moslems such as Mohammad Natsir. He has already been Prime Minister once and may well be again in the newly-elected Parliament.

The Socialist PSI is composed of the best brains of the country, but not too much political brawn. They are not likely to make a good showing at the polls. They have a good reputation and Sjahrir, the PSI head, is one of the founders of Indonesia and one of its wisest leaders in or out of government.

The Communist PKI is another story. It is, for the moment, in a popular front phase, actually supporting the PNI government almost uncritically, perhaps in an effort to recoup popular support lost by the putsch in 1948.

Neutrality will prevail

The Communists are well-organised, presumably growing, and controlling a strong labour organisation. Mr. D. N. Aidit, general-secretary, in a rare interview with this reporter, said that he considers the most important points in their programme to be "the rationalisation of all properties belonging to the Dutch imperialists and agrarian reform (the confiscation of the lands of the landlords and the distribution of lands without payment to the peasants)." With restraint, PKI leaders admit they will win "no more than one third" of the seats in Parliament, but they will probably get considerably fewer.

Whatever party forms a new government, Indonesia's present international policy of neutrality will certainly prevail. Most leaders, except the Communists, are united in wanting Indonesia to stay clear from either side of the cold war and, positively, to help to build world peace. If the five Colombo powers showed at Bandung some signs of crumbling (with Ceylon and Pakistan moving toward the West), Indonesia is united with India and Burma in being strictly independent.

Prime Minister Sastroamidjojo will soon make a trip to Peking. This will be widely cited as another evidence that Indonesia is "going Communist." No such thing. Indonesia, if anything, is privately anti-Communist. There is, however, a freedom of political opinion in Indonesia today which is refreshing in both East and West. And young Indonesia is keeping a political sanity when older democracies in the name of freedom proscribe political opinion.

Indonesia is a country which has a great potential—in resources, in people, in world leadership. One only hopes that both democracy and Communism will give Indonesia a chance to steer an independent, creative, unique course.

CENSORING THE BANTU

From a Correspondent

UNDER South Africa's Bantu Education Act, Bantu (Native African) teachers may now be deprived of their posts by state officials, if the teachers fail to comply with certain rules of conduct, which amount to a censoring of their freedom.

If "information received" names a teacher as being inefficient, the Secretary or the Under-Secretary for Native Affairs will call upon the teacher to admit or deny the accusation. If it is admitted, the teacher will be appointed to a lower post, or dismissed. If the charge is denied, the teacher will then appear before a board of inquiry.

A board of inquiry will also investigate charges of misconduct. The teacher will have the power to cross-examine witnesses and to call and give evidence on his own behalf. He will not, however, be allowed legal representation.

From such an inquiry, there can be no appeal against the decision of the Secretary or the Under-Secretary.

Forms of misconduct include treating members of the public and officials with gross discourtesy and encouraging disobedience or resistance to the law. Bantu teachers may not write or give interviews to the Press criticising superior officers or the policy of the Department of Native Affairs. They are not allowed to identify themselves with a political body, or take part in political affairs.

INDONESIAN POTTERS



These Indonesian potters of the village of Plered are producing quality ceramics at a low price for the home market thus helping to improve the economy of their country.

OBJECTORS QUESTIONED ABOUT BELSEN AGAIN

PEACE NEWS REPORTER

AT the May 13 session of the Fulham Tribunal, Conscientious Objectors were again asked questions relating to the Nazi concentration camps.

Nineteen-year-old Brian Atkins said that similar conditions existed today in Siberia. He had two friends who knew of Polish people who were victims in a Siberian camp. "We aren't doing anything," he complained to the Tribunal.

"Are you asking that we should march on these people?" asked Sir Gerald Hargreaves. "No," replied Atkins, "but something could be done about them—now."

Atkins' application was dismissed. Another CO, Ian McEwan, told the Tribunal that he was "still feeling his way," but he believed that pacifism was no easy solution to world tension, though it was the right one. When asked, "Why didn't pacifism end the Belsen camps?" McEwan replied, "That sort of thing cannot be ended immediately."

"Belsen had been going on for ten years," remarked Mr. Little, a member of the Tribunal. When he was asked why he thought military force was the wrong method for aiding concentration camp victims, McEwan replied, "When you go to war to relieve a place like Belsen, you are using the same thing that is being used in Belsen. You have not found the solution to camps like Belsen by going to war."

McEwan's application was dismissed. Allan Richardson told the Tribunal that

he had heard it said that one cannot be a Christian unless one is a pacifist. "I am thinking about that," he told them. "I am probably an agonistic at present, but I believe the teaching of a man called Jesus to be the right way—disgusted as I am with a Christian society, which does not call a man to succour the sick, nor to help on the land, but to destroy his fellowman."

Asked about Belsen, he said, "I protest against the Christians who allowed the situation to arise. The (Nazi) government should never have been allowed to arise. Britain had control of the country after the 1918 war, and apparently allowed them to arm. Belsen was the result."

Richardson was not registered as a conscientious objector.

Dennis Blissett, a twenty-year-old apprentice to a bookbinding firm, stated that as far back as he could remember he had opposed war. He claimed that it had brought far greater problems with it than it ever set out to solve. He rejected non-combatant service on the grounds that "it is as bad to feed the guns as to fire them. The acceptance of non-combatant duties is the acceptance of war."

Of Belsen, he said that it would have been much more sensible to have talks than to have fought and wasted life.

All the church joined Peace Council

THE whole of the congregation of the Church of Christ, Thrissell Street, Easton, Bristol, had affiliated themselves as a body to the Bristol Peace Council, members of the South West Tribunal for Conscientious Objectors were told in Bristol.

They had before them Arthur Bishop (18), of 87 Broadfield Road, Bristol, and after hearing him granted unconditional registration—one of the comparatively few applicants to be granted complete exemption by this tribunal in recent times.

The chairman (Judge E. H. C. Wethered) explained that in view of the fact that Mr. Bishop was a diabetic it was practically impossible to conditionally register him as he would probably find great difficulty in gaining employment in agricultural or hospital work.

Bishop, who objected to military service on the grounds that Christ's teachings and practices were completely pacifist told the tribunal: "National martyrdom may accomplish a great deal."

Although his Roman Catholic parish priest had tried to dissuade him from his views, Michael Cassidy (21), of Saunders Green, Whitecroft, Lydney, still persisted with his application for exemption.

He told the tribunal that even in the face of aggression his principles would prevent him defending his mother or brothers, his country or his faith.

His name was directed to be kept on the military register and marked for non-combatant duties.

I RENOUNCE WAR AND I WILL NEVER SUPPORT OR SANCTION ANOTHER

This pledge, signed by each member, is the basis of the Peace Pledge Union. Send YOUR pledge to P.P.U. HEADQUARTERS

Dick Sheppard House, Endeleigh Street, W.C.1

PPU RELIGION COMMISSION

Pacifist Universalist Service
3.30 p.m. Sunday May 5th
King's Weigh House Church, Binney St., W.1.
(Near Bond St. Tube)
Discourse by
Mrs. E. Hunter "Pacifism and Faith"

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OUR BIRTHDAY

ON June 6 Peace News will be nineteen years old. This year we shall be printing our thousandth issue.



The small group who started Peace News on its journey hadn't a hope of keeping the paper going without the help of its readers.

That help was forthcoming in 1936 and has been given generously by our readers ever since.

And so today we number amongst our most keen and enthusiastic helpers readers who were not born when No. 1 of Peace News was issued.

Two members of our present staff were serving in the Forces when issue No. 465 (May 11, 1945) carried a statement which began: "For the first time since Peace News was founded in 1936 the world does not lie under an ever-lengthening shadow of war."

How incredibly short-lived was that period without a shadow!

Three months later issue No. 478 recorded the dropping of the first atom bomb: "Can mind take control of this new form of energy and turn it to the service of life? Unless it can, human life at a civilised level lies under the dark shadow of a threatened self destruction."

In the same issue our readers were told of "a more than usually sinister portent." The US War Department were to spend "several million dollars during the next year or two on research into V-weapons."

That announcement we were told, was made before the atom bombs were dropped. Our headline was "Now we must work for Peace between the Big Three." Our contributor went on to say:

"Where into this scheme of things do V-weapons enter? Only for a war between the Big Three, surely. And since it is the Americans who have started making the infernal machines, it is either we British or our Allies, the Russians, who are going to have them fired at us. . . . Every weapon built in the Allied nations . . . will be a direct threat to the other two Allies."

Yes. We have had to utter grave warnings. Much of Peace News has made grim reading. But there has been good news. The spreading of Gandhi's teaching. The campaign to free India. The Quaker Mission to Moscow. The African Passive Resistance Movement. The Bandung Conference. Peace News was ahead of all other British journals in recognising their importance.

And it's good news that we have reached our nineteenth birthday!

You want to make us a present? There is the Peace News Fund—very much in need of help. HUGH BROCK.

Contributions since May 20: £35 5s. 8d. Total since January 1, 1955: £927 4s. 4d. An anonymous 4s. from "Newspaper Strike" is gratefully acknowledged.

Please make cheques, etc., payable to Peace News Ltd., and address them to Lady Clare Annesley, Joint Treasurer, Peace News, 3 Blackstock Rd., N.4.

Briefly

The Quaker Peace Poster, "I am not prepared to drop an H-bomb for any reason . . ." has been rejected from a poster site on Eccles Station, Manchester. It is alleged to be politically controversial.

A twelve-man Parliamentary delegation has left India for Europe and will visit Yugoslavia early in June.



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PACIFISM and the THIRD WAY

By Campbell Wilkie

PACIFISTS when a small minority are relegated by their pacifism to the periphery of political action, if not to complete political futility. Those pacifists who engage in politics at a practical level are constantly embarrassed by the conflict between conscience and the expedients of politics. At best they balance precariously on a tight rope, at worst they grant politics a primacy over their pacifism.

It is this political isolation, inherent in pacifism, that drives pacifists to seek co-operation with non-pacifists on political issues. The consciousness that pacifism alone will not prevent war, in the short run, drives many pacifists to strengthen their political weakness by attempts at unity with "near-pacifists," though sometimes the "nearness" is an optical illusion. It is these feelings, both natural and commendable, that animate the "Third Way Movement" among pacifists. But just how far can pacifists lend their support to this new development?

In the genesis of the "Third Way" two conceptions have been at play. The first that of a bloc of nations, following what has been described as "the Nehru line." This ignores the fact that the "Nehru line" is possible for India because in a world struggle India would be largely outside the battlefield whereas the nations of Western Europe are in the centre.

Neutrality could be considered as a calculated risk, but it is one that only two countries in Europe, and these traditionally neutral, are prepared to maintain. Eire's neutrality is governed, not by reason but by its political incapacity to be allied with England and Finland's neutrality is of dubious parentage. Outside of Sweden and Switzerland no other country is prepared to accept neutrality. Indeed it is the former neutrals who are anxious to be drawn under the American umbrella or "mushroom" of security, as shown by their early ratification of NATO and similar treaties.

In total war, neutrality is not respected and the Western European nations, unless pacifist, must in their search for security be drawn into the orbit of the USA—the only country in the West with the economic and industrial capacity for waging modern war. It is these facts that have driven former neutrals into NATO.

The first conception of the "Third Way" is therefore beset not only with practical difficulties but with the logic of security which certainly makes it immediately unrealisable. Apart from this, it must be preceded by the second conception which is concerned to change public opinion in the countries concerned.

This conception of the "Third Way" is not aimed directly at the formation of a bloc outside the struggle, but has the more limited object of co-ordinating those groups within the country which while not being pacifist are concerned to prevent war, not on the current basis of "peace through deterrents," but on a basis of negotiation and disarmament. Here the "Third Way" is not conceived as being a buffer between the two major powers but as compromise between militarism and pacifism.

Superficially it would seem that such a compromise is viable and not necessarily inconsistent with pacifism. This is only true to a narrow degree and the pacifist could only co-operate over a short period before the inconsistencies and contradictions showed up and co-operation became impossible. For if the "Third Way" is to have any real meaning it cannot be pacifist and any attempt to write non-violence into the "Third Way" programme is to subvert the initial premise of the "Third Way." Logically, the pacifist cannot see any compromise between pacifism and "peace through deterrents" other than subservience which need not be considered.

But neither history nor political movement is logical. History is not the product of single, absolute forces but the product of the cross-play of heterogeneous influences. It is conceivable that in a historical context a non-pacifist "Third Way" might be the means to prevent war in the short run. But historical prognostication is about as fruitless as trying the Treble Chance and the pacifist may be well advised to remain on the periphery of politics, witnessing to his pacifism and exercising what influence he can.

The pacifist is by necessity a lonely and uncompromising person. Lonely because he stands for an unpalatable truth and uncompromising for truth allows of no compromise. If the "Third Way" is not pacifism in disguise it will draw its support from those who fear both pacifism and war. People who in their anxiety will not be able to look truth in the face and may make many mistakes in the evaluation of the situation. Pacifists cannot permit themselves the luxury of such mistakes for pacifism is valueless unless it is ruthlessly honest and recognises the evil of the world. Pacifism is not a distaste for war in sentimental blinkers, but a robust and honest faith in the power of love and non-violence. The pacifist has one task in his propaganda and that is to present the truth in all its complexity and anxiety and to demonstrate that there is only one way for the world to turn—the pacifist way.

And yet, because the "Third Way" might be among the useful variables of history the pacifist can help it, but not at the cost of deserting his pacifism which is a constant of history.

The Criminal and the Bomb

By MONTGOMERY BELGION

The writer was author of "Epitaph on Nuremberg," published in 1947. Journalist as well as author, he has held the following posts: Editor-in-charge New York Herald (European edition) 1915-16; Foreign sub-editor Daily Mail; Chief sub-editor Westminster Gazette. His published works include "Our Present Philosophy of Life"; "The Human Parrot"; "Reading for Profit"; and "A Man After My Own Heart."

because the United Nations accepted it and took it over.

Very likely the war crimes trials which began in 1945 would have been treated as a precedent anyhow. They are a tempting form of revenge to a victor. But all uncertainty in the matter was dispelled on December 11, 1946, when the general assembly of the United Nations passed, at the instigation of the United States, a resolution which purported to affirm "the principles of international law recognized by the charter of the Nuremberg tribunal and the judgment of the tribunal." The fact that the charter in question nowhere refers to international law the assembly never paused to notice. Heedlessly and irresponsibly, it took the first step in an attempt to ruin the regulation of international dealings.

Then it took a second and third step. Upon its instructions an international law commission (which it had appointed) drew up in 1951 a draft code of "offences against the peace and security of mankind," and in the same year a committee on international criminal jurisdiction (which it had appointed also) produced the draft statute of a permanent international court of criminal justice. The Nuremberg trials were to be made the customary aftermath of a war.

The Pope's plan

No doubt since 1951 the court has not been set up nor the code adopted. No single member state of UNO has gone the length of relinquishing its sovereignty to the extent of promising to submit to the jurisdiction of the proposed court. But to imagine that therefore there is no danger would be to bury one's head in the sand.

The scheme, or something like it, has the support of no less a figure than the Pope. In an address delivered to criminal lawyers from many nations in the early days of October, 1953, the Pope advocated an international

penal code, thanks to which war criminals who sought asylum in neutral countries could, he said, be brought to book. His Holiness did not deign to explain how anybody is a criminal before trial. Emanating from the Holy See, his proposal was particularly deplorable, as the faculty of political asylum is one of the last vestiges of European civilization that have survived into the second half of the present century. But other influential quarters are equally eager to see supra-national criminal control.

Reserved to the defeated

Let the vigilant nod, let men of goodwill stay silent and inactive, and the world will one day find that the court has been foisted upon it. Thereupon, there is no doubt who will be hailed before it. Apart from small fry, it will be, as the draft statute specifies, "former heads of state." Not "heads of state," but "former heads." In practice the only rulers who can be tried will, the committee told the assembly, be "fallen rulers"—that is, rulers who have "fallen" on losing a war. The future Nurembergs, like the first, are reserved to the defeated.

That is the point of Field-Marshal Lord Montgomery's famous words a few years ago. In the course of a speech in Paris, he said that Britain and France were sure to win the next war, as after the next war all the defeated generals will be hanged.

This brings us to the H-bomb. Confronted with the prospect of trial and execution unless they win, the leaders of every belligerent country in a future war can be relied upon to be utterly ruthless in staving off defeat. No weapon will be too terrible. In the light of the Nuremberg war crimes trials, the moral implications of Britain's decision to manufacture the H-bomb are, that Britain, like other countries, must have the H-bomb in the hope of sparing its leaders after the next war their appearance in the dock at another Nuremberg.

PACIFISTS AND THE WORLD TODAY

Questions for discussion

The following report has been prepared by a Committee of the US War Resisters' League for consideration by the WRL Executive.

While it is particularly related to US conditions, readers will have little difficulty in making the minor adjustments necessary to make it appropriate to Britain. Peace News will welcome discussion arising from the conclusions reached by the Committee in this report.

regimented society, the points at which the individual is able to make what he feels to be meaningful decisions seem to vanish. Of course, no inference that we must ourselves acquiesce in this mood is implied in pointing out the fact that it faces us, and must be reckoned with in devising policy and programme.

2. In the US there is a special situation of sustained—though essentially war-based—prosperity, with millions of "progressive" unionists making a living at war jobs. This creates an atmosphere in which dissent, whether on an individual or collective basis, does not readily flourish. (Contrast the mood of the depression period among college youth.)

The example of Gandhi

3. The general social problem, including the "threat" of Communism, the danger of atomic and biological war, etc., now presents such a crucial aspect that the attention of people is focussed on whether war can be eliminated and prevented, whether the totalitarian threat to a free and co-operative existence can be removed, rather than to the question of how the individual, as an individual, may "make his witness." People inwardly question whether life and action on the part of an individual can mean anything unless the world situation can be greatly improved. This suggests that we cannot shun the social question of how to abolish war. The only question is whether we try the old approaches again, or have a more adequate and revolutionary solution.

4. In this context it is obviously of the utmost importance to remember there is no such thing today as the socialist and labour movement of earlier days to which reference already has been made. The movement everywhere has deteriorated, no longer is bent firmly on building a socialist society nor confident that it can do so. In the US the political movement of the "Left" virtually is non-existent; the unions themselves enmeshed in the war machinery...

This analysis points to the conclusion that unless there is and/or comes into existence a genuinely revolutionary movement—anti-war, rejecting both the Communist and Capi-

talist socio-economic regimes—the pacifist movement will be stymied, even if it survives, in a world in which men are in despair and afflicted with apathy toward social action.

This in turn raises the question whether the pacifist movement has some responsibility for helping in the reconstitution of a movement without the coercion of the individual that has characterized too many radical groups in the past. In the United States this means the development of a non-totalitarian movement of the Left. There is also the question whether pacifists have not a specific contribution to make to such a movement, viz: demonstrating the relevance and indispensability of non-violence in the development of a revolutionary movement under contemporary conditions.

"Third Way"

We note next that if pacifists—not bound to outmoded approaches and prepared for a thoroughgoing re-evaluation of the situation—were to approach the application of non-violence not merely from the personal but from the social or political angle as well, they would be proceeding in accord with the example of Gandhi. Gandhi did not start out as an individual CO to war, though he certainly was deeply committed to non-violence as a way of life. It was in fact some time before he was himself clear on the issue of conscientious objection in the specific sense. His dominant concern throughout was socio-political, the removal of disabilities from Indians in S. Africa; the independence of India; a socio-economic system for the people of India which would make them truly "free." The basis of a free society, he contended, was non-violence; the means for its achievement were non-violent. The trend of the present analysis appears to be that pacifists should face the problem of eliminating the threat of war, the problem of revolutionizing a society which leads to war, and that the youth of today will come to—or at least move toward—non-violence from another angle.

Though the object of this paper is to analyse the situation in which pacifists find themselves, not to map out a programme, one further comment may be made for purposes of information. The necessities of the contemporary world situation—such as polarisation of power in the two atomically armed blocs, the conflict on various levels between the capitalist and Communist socio-economic regimes—force certain nations, and parties and groups within them, to make it their object to keep from being drawn into one or other of the military blocs and to devise a way of life that would constitute a genuine alternative to the present regimes which are essentially war regimes. This search results in the persistence of various forms of "neutrality" in these countries, and "neutrality" is not the answer. But in West Europe, Asia, Africa, in the case, e.g., of the Praja Socialist Party and the Land-Gift Movement in India, the Burmese and Japanese Socialist parties, etc., we observe efforts to deal with the problems of politics on a deeper

□ ON PAGE FIVE

Sacred Tyranny

GILBERT MURRAY was ill-advised to dwarf his international reputation within the cramped and biased arena of "Foundations of Western Values" (*Home*). It is beneath the dignity of a noble lion to be exhibited as a guinea-pig. True, he paced to and fro within the cage of his allotted subject, "Truth, the Sovereign Virtue," with an eye on vast horizons, but the roar of freedom which greets the dawn was reduced to the whimper of one unable to break through the bars. Many of his admirers must have been deeply humiliated when his voice was added to those who rummage in the twilight of a setting empire, raking over the shambles of historical shame for elusive, compensating virtues.

"Norman Angell once wrote a book called *The Unseen Assassins*. The assassins are words, words that are not quite clear in meaning, but have the power of stirring up confused prejudices and passions... Take colonialism, for instance. Some years ago when the Covenant of the League of Nations was being drawn up, it was agreed that as some nations were comparatively backward and ignorant it was a sacred trust of civilisation for the more advanced nations to care for their welfare and progress, and most of them have tried to do so. Now it is not called a sacred trust; it is called colonialism and considered a vice."

Enforced occupation of a country without consent of the inhabitants, even when sanctified by the culprits and termed "a sacred trust" remains tyranny. Was it not in this same League our representative insisted on the use of bombers for colonial control? Forsooth, who decides "backwardness" and "ignorance"? Are these words "quite clear in meaning"? Do they not mean strategy, outlets for capital investment, raw materials, and market preference?

What was the reason for the irrelevant gibe at "extreme pacifists"? Had he forgotten that a few moments earlier he said: "war and lies go together; truth and peace"? A vindication of the extreme pacifist if ever there was one! Having condemned totalitarian leaders as tyrants, there followed: "England in particular has always prided itself on its care for truth... a great Swiss hotel proprietor once told me he always honoured an Englishman's cheque. Only once in his life had he been deceived, and then all the English in the hotel subscribed to make the cheque good."

During our 15 years on the European Continent we were once refused admission to a hotel at Lyons because we were English. After some months' sojourn in that city living down opprobrium, we were shown the proprietor's museum of "perfidie Albion," which consisted of a portfolio of dishonoured cheques, every one issued by army officers during the first world war!

They call it "Peace Training"

Reminiscent of Orwell's "Ministry of Peace" in his book, "1984" is the term applied to military service in Nyasaland, which has just been introduced. It is called "peace training" and involves four months military training plus three camps in the following three years. All male non-African residents between the ages of 17 and 29 are affected. This has meant so far a larger registration of Asian and Afro-European men than whites.

As this is a free service, we reserve the right to select notices for publication. We nevertheless desire to make it as complete a service as we reasonably can, and therefore use organisers of events to:

Saturday, June 4
BRISTOL: 2.30 p.m.; Friends Mtg. Ho., Rosemary St., for H-bomb Protest Campaign, Cars, lorries, etc., assemble for posters and speakers to tour city. 7 p.m. Durham Downs. Open-air Mtg. Offers of cars and help to Will Parkin, 15 Kenmore Crescent, Bristol 7, SoF, FoR, PPU.
COLCHESTER: 7 p.m.; Friends Mtg. Ho., Edin. Adlam, "China and Tomorrow." FoR SoF.

HASTINGS: 2.30 p.m.; Tinklers Dell, Crowhurst Lane, Battle. Garden Fete. PPU.
LONDON: 1.45 p.m.; Procession assembles 6 Endsleigh St., W.C.1., March to Trafalgar Sq. for 3 hr. meeting. 5 p.m. Buffet and Peace Exhibition followed by "Any Questions?" in crypt of St. Martin-in-the-Fields.
SOUTHEASE: 7 p.m.; Promenade, Speakers Corner. Open-air mtg. PPU.

Sunday, June 5
LONDON: W.C.1. 3.30 p.m.; King's Welsh Ho. Church, Binney St. (Nr. Bond St. Stn.) Pacifist Unionist Service, Discourse: Mrs. E. Hunter "Pacifism and Faith." PPU Religion Commission.
RAMBLE: Lullingstone. Assemble 10 a.m. Platform 4, Victoria. Children welcome. Bunge lunch. Central London PPU.

Monday, June 6
WOLVERHAMPTON: 7.30 p.m.; Darling-ton St. Methodist Church. Fred Moorhouse, "Is the individual helpless?" FoR.

Thursday, June 9
LEYTONSTONE: 8 p.m.; Friends Mtg. Ho., Bush Rd., Dr. John Barnard, "The Other Side of Hospital Life." PPU.

Saturday, June 11
EPSON: 7 p.m.; Myers Hall (behind Ebbsfleet Hall), Ashley Rd. (nr. traffic lights). Mtg. of pacifists and resisters to

Every week!

SUNDAYS
BYDE PARK: 3 p.m.; Pacifist Youth Action Group. Every Sunday. PYAG.
GLASGOW: Open-air mtg. Queen's Park Gates, Victoria Rd. 7.45 p.m. Campbell Wilkie and Keith Bovey. Glasgow PPU.

TUESDAYS
MANCHESTER: 1.2 p.m.; Deansgate Blitz Site. Christian pacifist open-air mtg. Local Methodist ministers and others. MPF.

THURSDAYS
LONDON, W.C.1.: 1.15-1.45 p.m.; Church of St. George the Martyr, Queen St. Weekly Peace Service of Intercession for World Peace. Conducted by clergy and laymen of different denominations.
LONDON, W.C.1.: 7.30 p.m.; Dick Shephard Ho., 6 Endsleigh St. Pacifist Youth Action Group.

SATURDAYS
LIVERPOOL: 7.30 p.m.; Pier Head, Open Air Meeting. Liverpool and District Peace Board.

Letters to the Editor

Communists and Pacifists

COMMUNISTS are very eager for peace, these days, and are hurt with the cool reception they receive from pacifists. But can any pacifist easily forget their attitude in the last war? They were then such supporters of war that they put aside mistrust of Tories and Imperialists and joined in a coalition to carry on the war.

Many a pacifist must have experienced what happened to me in some instances, when I was denounced as a traitor and a crank by former friends who, because they were Communists and war-mad just then, would no longer look at me, a pacifist.

Since the cold war has started, some of these former friends have come back with much protestations of peace upon their lips. But unless such wobblers and compromisers sign the pledge to renounce war, which is the basis of the Peace Pledge Union, one remains in doubt that they are truly altered in heart.

I have come to learn from experience that such a public statement of one's renunciation of all wars is, in fact, most important. It sorts out people who are in earnest about pacifism from those who only render lip service to a vague craving for peace. Any Communist who sincerely wishes for peace, and who has truly come to view war as never the right way to solve quarrels between nations, will become convincing in his attitude only if he signs the pledge to this effect.

It is spiritually bad work for a Communist to omit this essential step to proclaim that he will never support another war.

FRANCOISE DELISLE

26 Aysgarth Road,
Dulwich Village, S.E.21.

Gold Coast Development

A. J. MUSTE (PN last week) is justifiably uneasy about the Gold Coast's decision to accept capital investment from the United States for the development of its bauxite industry. This sort of thing can prevent the Gold Coast from playing a 100 per cent. third camp role in the world when she comes to independence.

But capital must come from somewhere. In totalitarian countries it is taken out of the backs of the peasants. Would-be democratic countries must choose other methods. The only large-scale sources of capital supply at the moment are Russia and the West. A third way solution to the problem might be one or all of the following:

1. Increased capital assistance from the International Bank.
2. Financial aid from wealthy neutrals—Sweden, Switzerland (and Germany if she becomes neutral).
3. Voluntary public credit schemes on the lines of Vinoba Bhave's Land Gift financing.

Nkrumah has apparently tried to raise capital elsewhere for the Volta Scheme, without success. While his policies do leave much to be desired he nevertheless has said (speech on the Motion for Independence, July, 1953): "We have to work hard to evolve new patterns, new social customs, new attitudes to life, so that while we seek the material, cultural and economic advancement of our country, while we raise the standard of life, we shall not sacrifice our fundamental

happiness. That, I should say, has been the greatest tragedy of Western society since the industrial revolution."

TOM WARDLE

87 Digby Crescent,
London, N.4.

Elections and Democracy

SYBIL MORRISON is quite wrong when she says that the Germans had no choice when they voted Hitler in. I was married to a German and voted in all the elections.

The vote that brought Hitler to power in 1933 was legally just—as were earlier elections. There was a choice. I am not sure of the figures but both the Social Democratic Party and the Communist Party had substantial votes certainly running into several millions. After that the law was altered and elections were held roughly about once in two years. These elections were in fact a sort of plebiscite: you voted for or against Hitler. It was legal to vote against, and the "no" votes were counted and the number publicised. It was of course always a very small number.

With regard to the actual intimidation at the polls it was the outside psychological atmosphere which affected this. Although in Berlin when voting we handed the ballot paper to the official, who put it in the box, anybody was allowed to go to the count, and the Nazis always crowded into the polling booth which was nearly always a beer house. Both my husband and I always voted "No". It is true my husband was executed, but I do not think it was for voting against Hitler—we sheltered an escaped prisoner which was the reason given for the execution, and I am alive.

The point I am trying to make is this: the vote is only a part of the democratic rights of people. There is what I think to be a very foolish word in use today: totalitarianism. It is a demagogic word; it does not mean very much. Germany under Hitler is often given as a prime example of totalitarianism. It is not a good definition.

German fascism was, I should say, a mixture of:

1. Highly centralised monopoly capitalism.
2. Strong feudal remnants.
3. The German militaristic tradition.
4. The corruption of the labour movement, and lastly and mostly ignorance.

Let us be clear about our facts. There has been much talk about free elections in Germany as a safeguard for democracy. I think it has been proved that elections in themselves are no safeguard for democracy.

BRIGID YOUNGDAY

33 Park View,
Acton, W.3.

"THE PLOUGH"

The Plough. 2s. 9d. post free from Bromdon, Bridgnorth, Salop.

The latest issue of THE PLOUGH, apart from its news of the Bruderhof Communities, prints an interesting article on St. Francis of Assisi by Fritz Wenzel, who ends it by quoting a prayer sometimes attributed to the Saint. Here is the first of the two verses:

*Lord, make me an instrument of thy peace.
Where there is hatred, let me sow love;
where there is injury, pardon;
where there is doubt, faith;
where there is despair, hope;
where there is darkness, light;
where there is sadness, joy.*

R.G.

CLASSIFIED ADVERTISEMENTS

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LATEST TIME for copy: Monday morning before publication.

DISPLAYED ADVERTISEMENTS are required by the Thursday eight days prior to publication.

WHEN REPLYING to advertisements please mention **PEACE NEWS**

MEETINGS
INTERNATIONAL CLUB, Bath. Tuesdays, 7.30. Literary Institute, 18 Queen Sq. All welcome.

KING'S WEIGH House Church, Duke St., nr. Bond St. Tube, Sunday at 6.30 p.m. "Conditions of World Salvation." Dr. Hugh Martin, C.H. "The Unity of the Church."

MEDICAL EFFECTS OF RADIO-ACTIVITY: Scientific Conference at 45 Russell Sq., W.C.1. (nr. Euston Stn.) Saturday, June 4, 2.30 p.m.—6 p.m. Adm. free. Details from Secy., Medical Assoc. Prevention of War, 291 Burntwood Lane, S.W.17.

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HAVE YOU booked up yet for the 5th World Youth Festival in Warsaw from July 31—Aug. 14? Three weeks costs £33; a fortnight £29. And the closing date for application is June 18! Write today for full details to British Youth Festival Ctee., Dept. PN, 9 Camden High St., Ldn., N.W.1.

VEGETARIAN FAMILY GUEST HOUSE. 44 Osmond Rd., Hove, 2, Sussex, Tel 38030.

Pacifists and the world Today

FROM PAGE FOUR

and more ethical level and to work on a "Third Camp" or "Third Way" rationale and programme.

Such groups as the Land-Gift movement and the Praja Socialist Party are significant because their basic aim is to create a society that does not exploit the individual. They seek a socio-economic order of such a nature that the political institutions which evolve will achieve a responsible freedom.

If we are truly against war and the dominant power blocs we have to ask how we can support such movements and tendencies. Similarly, if we are convinced that in order to be factually and not merely verbally against war, we have to be for radical change in economics which make for war, we need to be concerned about the question of a "new life" in the US. But it is immediately clear that the creation of a movement of dissent and basic social change, including the destruction of the war system, in the US is virtually as difficult, though in part for different reasons, as it is in Russia. Presumably, in such a situation we should try to avoid both a tendency to underestimate the intellectual and practical difficulties and a tendency to evade or abandon the task because it is complicated and difficult. Does this, therefore, point to the need of a period of sustained study and educational work to which the War Resisters' League might contribute substantially?

Helping hand in S. Africa

The South African Fellowship of Reconciliation report a very successful tour of their country by Rev. Jan Buskes of the Dutch FoR section, Church and Peace. Rev. Buskes spent much time talking to ministers of the Dutch Reformed Church in South Africa and in preaching to their congregations. Douglas and Dorothy Steere of the American FoR have also visited South Africa recently. The South African FoR write in their newsletter that they hope that the international movement will give thought to the possibility of further visitors.

Peace Through Bombs?

Saturday, June 4

UNITED LONDON DEMONSTRATION

1.45 pm. The London Pipe Band and marchers assemble at 6 Endsleigh Street, Euston, W.C.1. for march through West End to Trafalgar Square.

3 pm. Trafalgar Square Meeting addressed by John Ferguson, Christopher Farley, Sybil Morrison, Rev. Kenneth Greet, Rev. Ronald Redman. Chair: Stuart Morris.

5 pm. Buffet Tea and Exhibition in The Crypt, St. Martin-in-the-Fields, followed by "Any Questions?" Panel: Dr. J. Boag, Vera Brittain, Denis Hayes, John Ferguson and others.

Organised by the Standing Joint Pacifist Committee for the Friends Peace Committee, Anglican Pacifist Fellowship, Peace Pledge Union and Fellowship of Reconciliation.

R.G.

FOR YOUR MEETING. Don't forget that Housmans can supply all your literature requirements and quantities of Peace News. Send a postcard to Housmans Bookshop (Peace News), 3 Blackstock Rd., London, N.4.

THE RAILWAY REVIEW. The only, and best informed, TU newspaper. Trade union and political news; Railway problems and working conditions featured in every issue. Every Friday, 12 pages, price 3d.

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SITUATIONS VACANT

The engagement of persons answering these advertisements must be made through a local office of the Ministry of Labour or a scheduled employment agency if the applicant is a male aged 18 to 64 or a woman aged 18 to 59 inclusive unless he or she, or the employment, is exempted from the provisions of the Notification of Vacancies Order, 1952.

TWO TEACHERS wanted, either sex, keen, for rural Sec. Mod. School, Pacifist Headmaster, Box No. 642.

PEACE WORK is available for all volunteers at Peace News office. Daytime and every Wednesday evening we shall be grateful for help. Write, phone or just drop in to Peace News (STAMFORD HILL 2262), 3 Blackstock Rd. (above Fish & Cook, stationers), Finsbury Park, N.4.

SITUATIONS AND WORK WANTED

MABEL EYLES Duplicating Service, 395 Hornsey Road, N.19. (ARC. 1765).

PACIFIST UNDERGRADUATE, no qualifications, desires useful work during August and/or September. Remuneration must be sufficient to avoid starvation. Box No. 638.

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HOUSMANS STATIONERY DEPT. offer plain postcards, 2s. 6d. 100; 6 x 3 1/2 envelopes, white 18s. 6d. 1,000 box; manilla 12s. 6d. 1,000 box; white bank paper, 10 x 8 in. 7s. 6d. 500 sheets; Newsprinters, 10 x 5 in. 15s. 1,000, 1s. 9d. 100; plain economy labels, 4 x 3 1/2 in. 13s. 6d. 1,000, 1s. 6d. 100. All post free.

NB is your newsagent displaying Peace News?

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PEACE NEWS

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Who's in and out of the new Parliament

All were members of the last Parliament

Labour Party Pacifists in the New Parliament

Figures in brackets: Majorities for 1955 and 1951

George Craddock, Bradford South (3,710; 3,501)
 Leslie Hale, Oldham West (3,899; 4,195)
 Ernest Fernyhough, Jarrow (10,402; 16,746)
 Ernrys Hughes, South Ayrshire (8,209; 7,835)
 Sir Fred Messer, Tottenham (8,883; 13,251)
 John Rankin, Glasgow, Govan (9,602; New Const.)
 R. W. Sorensen, Leyton (8,204; 10,165). Chairman of the National Peace Council
 George Thomas, Cardiff West (4,962; 5,400)
 Victor Yates, Birmingham, Ladywood (8,811; 7,677)

Labour MPs who voted against conscription

Figures in brackets: Majorities for 1955 and 1951

Cyril Bence, Dunbarton East (1,130; 3,426)
 Fenner Brockway, Eton and Slough (2,443; 4,084)
 James Carmichael, Glasgow Bridgeton (8,101; 10,925)
 Alice Cullen, Gorbals (6,367; 12,219)
 Harold Davies, Leek, Staffs. (1,059; 1,910)
 Harold Finch, Bedwely (23,692; 25,243)
 John Forman, Glasgow, Springburn (5,773; 11,001)

Independent Pacifists

Figures in brackets: Number of votes polled
 Eric Fenner, Battersea North (622)
 John Loversseed, Lewisham South (1,400)

Independent Labour Party

Figures in brackets: Number of votes polled
 Stanley Birkett, Bermondsey South (715)
 George Stone, Glasgow, Bridgeton (2,619; 1951: Duncan, 1,796)

Independent

Figures in brackets: Number of votes polled
 Sir Richard Acland, Gravesend (6,514; 1951 as Lab. 30,055)
 D. C. Cox, Cirencester and Tewkesbury (12,394)
 S. Keatley, Handsworth, Birmingham (2,148; 1951 at Aston 545)
 Eric Shafer, Rugby (1,274)

Welsh Nationalist Pacifists

Figures in brackets: Number of votes polled



John Loversseed campaigning at South Lewisham

BRIEFLY . . .

THE Anglican Pacifist Fellowship, the Fellowship of Reconciliation, and the Women's International League are among the organisations associated with the arrangement of a luncheon to entertain Professor Shinobu Tabata, Professor of Constitutional Law and Political Science at the Doshisha University, Kyoto, Japan, at the Royal Hotel, Woburn Place, W.C.1 at 12.30 p.m. on Friday, June 10. Professor Tabata will speak on "The Peace constitution of Japan and World Affairs."

Tickets for the luncheon are 8s. and may be obtained from the FoR, 29 Great James Street, W.C.1.

Imprisonment for a further month was the verdict of Romford Court, when conscientious objector Paul Brown (see Peace News, May 27) appeared before them on May 31.

Atoms for Peace Exhibition opened at the South Bank on June 2, and will remain in London for ten days, after which it will tour Britain in five 21-ton mobile trailers. The exhibition is sponsored by the US Information Service in co-operation with the UK Atomic Energy Authority. It will be shown at Glasgow, Newcastle, Edinburgh, Leeds, Liverpool, Manchester, Sheffield, Nottingham, Birmingham, Cardiff, Bristol and Southampton. Admission is free; open daily from 10 a.m. to 10 p.m.

The birth rate is declining in some areas although still high in most countries. Infant mortality continues its downward trend and life expectancy is increasing in many nations. The world is reported to have had a population of 2,547,000,000 at the middle of 1953. These trends are some of the facts contained in the 729-page United Nations Demographic Yearbook, 1954, published in New York recently.

Cledwyn Hughes, Anglesey (4,573; 595)
 T. W. Jones, Merioneth (2,682; 1,048)
 Clifford Kenyon, Chorley Lancs. (1,338; 583)
 Henry McGee, Peniston, West Riding (11,636; 16,024)

James McInnes, Central Glasgow (6,367; 4,882)
 Malcolm MacMillan, Western Isles (2,172; 1,330)
 Walter Monslow, Barrow-in-Furness (2,759; 6,484)

Percy Morris, West Swansea (1,021; 2,160)
 Thomas Oswald, Edinburgh (939; 1,582)
 Walter Padley, Ogmore (22,524; 27,518)
 Goronwy Roberts, Caernarvon (9,221; 8,896)
 Julius Silverman, Birmingham, Aston (8,262; 11,763)

James Simmons, Brierley Hill, Staffs. (949; 2,298)
 Ellis Smith, Stoke-on-Trent South (13,264; 16,906)
 Julian Snow, Lichfield and Tamworth (3,105; 2,885)

Dr. Barnett Stross, Stoke-on-Trent Central (12,355; 15,490)
 Stephen Swingle, Newcastle-under-Lyme (6,745; 8,536)
 John Timmons, Bothwell, Lanarkshire (3,610; 5,938)

Tudor Watkins, Brecon and Radnor (7,541; 2,083)
 David Williams, Neath (21,114; 24,129)
 Rev. L. Williams, Abertillery (21,518; 24,917)

Gwynfor Evans, Merioneth (5,223)

Eirwyn Morgan, Llanelli (6,398)
 Christopher Rees, Gower (4,101)

Labour Party Pacifists

Figures in brackets: Number of votes polled

Fred Barton, Stretford (21,267)
 G. L. Caunt, Southgate (8,584)
 Stanley Conbeer, Isle of Wight (18,698)
 Norman Hart, Orpington (10,230)
 Rev. Hampden Horne, Saffron Walden (14,523)
 James Hudson, Ealing N. (22,794; 1951: 25,698)
 Ron Huzzard, Croydon, North West (15,760)
 James Avery Joyce, Norwood (19,799)
 Harold Lawrence, Tavistock (8,755)
 Eric Messer, Esher (13,132)

Labour Party Candidates who have voted against conscription

Archibald Manuel, Central Ayrshire (19,546; 1951 majority: 1,693)

War Resisters' League to discuss Third Camp

THE annual conference of the War Resisters' League of the United States this year will discuss the Third Camp. On June 25 and 26, delegates from the United States to the International Third Camp Conference in London in September will meet at the WRL conference to talk over American proposals.

Bayard Rustin, Executive Secretary of the War Resisters' League, will fly to England for the September Conference. Charles Walker, Secretary of the Middle Atlantic Region of the Fellowship of Reconciliation, will also attend the International Conference.

A Third Camp group has been established at Philadelphia, where the Middle Atlantic Fellowship of Reconciliation office is situated. Brijen Gupta, representative of the Praja Socialist Party in the US, recently addressed the group on the significance of the Bandung Conference for the Third Camp movement.

In London last week-end, Tom Wardle, of Peace News staff, who returned from his US tour a few days previously, addressed the annual conference of the Common Wealth Party on the Third Way. Common Wealth will be one of the British organisations represented at the International Conference.

£100 for CO's release

JAMES ELLIS, the boy apprentice in the Army whose case was cited by James Hudson when he moved the insertion of a conscience clause in the Army Bill, has now bought his discharge.

The War Office refused to accept less than the maximum amount of £100. James Ellis's mother has been lent £50, and it is hoped that the balance will be raised by private subscription.

'THINGS UNKNOWN'

And, as imagination bodies forth
 The forms of things unknown . . .
 —Midsummer Night's Dream.

NOW that the post mortems and inquests on the results of the Election have taken place, and Gallup polls, electronic machines and cube law reckonings have given forth their verdicts, there still remains an atmosphere, uneasily felt during the campaign, of phlegmatic apathy.

The Anti H-bomb candidates plainly failed to rouse the electorate into voting on an issue which should have been the only reality, the only question for the future of mankind. Sir Richard Acland's 6,514 votes even if they were all cast against the bomb, and not for a chivalrous, conscience-stricken "Sir Galahad," are infinitesimal when set beside the figure of 26½ million-odd for the total poll.

An appeal to fear of the bomb being used against this island or to immorality of using it against others, seems to have proved itself utterly futile to move the ordinary man and woman, whose decision was needed to make any impact upon the two main parties.

It is clear that lack of imagination remains

the greatest obstacle in making any appeal of this kind to a large number of people at the same time.

The imagination of people in the mass is a very strange and largely emotional thing. If twenty-three cadets marching along the side of the road are mowed down by a bus whose driver failed to see them, scattering their little mutilated bodies over the public highway, there is scarcely a home in which the piteous tragedy does not press upon the imagination. That it might have been "our" Tommy, or Johnny, or Jimmy acts upon the imagination and makes it work.

But, if 50 children in one small village in Korea are burned alive with petrol jelly, public imagination refuses to work. It would perhaps be as easy to conjure up for a blind person the extraordinary delicacy of a silver birch with its exquisitely designed branches and leaves, as to paint for those who cannot see in their own minds a word picture of the agony and wounding of those small children, who of all inhabitants on this earth are the most helpless and innocent.

When the German dams were burst wide open by British bombers and bombs, and thousands upon thousands of people were drowned in the roaring, relentless waters with no hope of rescue, there was apparently, nothing but rejoicing, and books and films in praise of that monstrous act are now widely read and viewed.

But, when the dykes of Holland were breached, and the river Lyn in flood, swept away homes and people like bits of straw and paper, the sympathetic understanding which flowed out to the bereaved and destitute could not be measured.

★

Those who believe it right to possess the H-bomb, whether it be called a "defensive deterrent," or a "bigger and better weapon of war," know, if they choose to think, that there are circumstances in which it will be used. They like to believe, however, that it will never be used, and therefore, they do not try to imagine what will happen in this country, let alone in the world, if it is in fact, used.

"It couldn't happen here," is the favourite slogan of the unimaginative, and it is a defensive armour very hard to penetrate. The three weeks of the election campaign was an impossibly short time for H-bomb and Independent Pacifist candidates to persuade their resisting fellow men to use their imagination. It is that resistance which is the greatest obstacle to the pacifist cause.

The public conscience is quickened by the "deterrent" advocates, in the same way as, in the past it has been smothered by patriotic calls to wage a war to end wars, and fight to destroy totalitarianism.

This 1955 General Election is over, but the rousing of public conscience and imagination is still to be done; this is work to which pacifists have set their hands; it must go on and it will go on.

Quaker Peace study

FROM PAGE ONE

The new study is the fourth in a series that began in 1949 with the publication of "The United States and the Soviet Union."

The previous studies, Hoskins pointed out, were based on the assumption that the most practical approach to peace is to move away from reliance on force step by step. The new publication, he said, takes a more radical stand. It begins by asking why, when Americans in and out of government concur on the constructive measures needed—measures such as disarmament and increased economic aid—American policy has moved in the opposite direction.

"Commitment to violence," it says, "prevents positive steps. The United States stands by when Morocco demands freedom, because it cannot afford to antagonize a key military partner. In the East, the American position is determined on the basis of military considerations rather than on what seems right for Japan."

Rely on non-violence

The study then argues that violence cannot defeat evil since the greatest evil of the day is not Communism but violence itself. It recognizes that neither the nation nor a majority of Americans are likely to accept overnight either onesided disarmament or Gandhi's method of non-violent resistance. Yet it urges individuals to make a pacifist commitment, declaring that such a position is politically relevant today.

"The man who relies on force," say the 13 authors of the study, "is driven to produce a hydrogen bomb . . . but hopes he will never have to inflict such suffering on an enemy. Similarly, the man who relies on non-violence hopes he will never have to accept such suffering from an enemy. Daily living does not usually require us to demonstrate our ultimate faith but our daily choices are made on the basis of it."

In an attempt to reach opinion-makers in the United States, a thousand copies of the study have already gone out to national leaders, including 202 magazine editors, 98 college presidents, 50 labour leaders, 94 columnists, the editors of 210 newspapers and over 150 persons in Washington, including congressmen, commentators and Pentagon officials.

Personal letters from such men as Gordon Allport, psychologist; Hans J. Morgenthau, political scientist; Robert M. Hutchins, educator; Norbert Wiener, scientist; Erich Fromm, psychologist, and Lewis Mumford, social theorist, have urged colleagues to examine the case made by the Quaker group. Fromm has called the study "a closely-reasoned analysis of our present situation and an outline of what may be the only road to survival compatible with freedom and self-respect."

Wiener has lauded the study as "worthy of the long and honorable tradition of Friends, an attempt to stem the drift to self-destruction."

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ARMED FORCES DAY

FROM PAGE ONE

One young man, who had worked all night making a giant sign 7 feet by 24 feet, arrived too late to get in the poster parade in the morning, so he and another participant held up the sign during the parade. It read "Guns Win War, Not Peace." A group of soldiers and sailors, along with American Legionnaires, harassed the two men, finally struck one of them, tore down the sign and burned it, poles and all. This incident was in sharp contrast to public reaction toward the other activities, for little hostility and much interest were shown.

Armed Forces Talk No. 483, in talking of the problem of "Red infiltration," says: "The obvious reaction is to fight." The participants hoped by this demonstration to get some of their countrymen to look beyond the obvious reaction, and to seek the things that make for peace.

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